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EMBEDDED IMPERATIVES IN KAJKAVIAN DIALECTS OF CROATIAN*

Embedded imperatives are cross-linguistically very rare. They are attested, for instance, in modern languages such as Slovenian and High German and historical languages such as Ancient Greek and Old Scandinavian. In the literature, it has long been established that imperatives can also be embedded in some Kajkavian dialects of Croatian, but to date, this phenomenon has not been thoroughly analyzed. The paper deals with the material collected by field research and analyses it within the framework of Medeiros' (2015) minimalist approach to embedded imperatives, according to which the embedding of imperatives is possible only in the languages in which imperative morphology does not depend on the directive operator. In the researched Kajkavian dialects, embedded imperatives can occur only in complement clauses, but older texts show that in the written language, embedded imperatives are also possible in relative clauses. Unlike many other languages in which imperatives may be embedded, in the researched Kajkavian dialects, embedding is relatively free. Both true and surrogate imperatives may be embedded, the subject of embedded clauses can be null and overt and does not necessarily have to co-refer to the internal argument of the matrix predicate.

1. Introduction

One of the commonplaces in the (generative) literature on imperatives has long been a claim that imperative forms cannot be embedded (cf. Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 174, Han 1998: 38). In the last fifteen years, however, many researchers

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have argued that this claim is not correct. Recent studies have shown that embedded imperatives are confirmed in historical languages such as Old Scandinavian (Platzack 2008) and Ancient Greek (Medeiros 2015), as well as in some modern languages such as Slovenian (1) (Milojević Sheppard and Golden 2002, Rus 2005), Korean (Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2008), High German (Kaufmann 2012) etc.

(1) Rekel je, da delaj bolje. (Slovenian)

said is that work.IMP.2SG better

‘He said that you must work better.’

(Milojević Sheppard and Golden 2002: 251)

In all languages in which imperative embeddability has been confirmed, it is exposed to certain restrictions. These restrictions vary from one language to another. In Old Scandinavian languages, for example, the subject of embedded clauses with true imperatives must be overt, it always has second person feature and it is obligatory placed between the complementiser and the verb (cf. Platzack 2008). In Korean, however, the subject of the embedded sentence may be overt only if it co-refers to the internal argument of the matrix clause predicate and if, along with it, a topic marker occurs (cf. Pak, Portner and Zanuttini 2008). Significantly fewer constraints are shown in Slovenian and Ancient Greek, in which embedded imperatives are not limited to the second person and their subject can be either null or overt (cf. Rus 2005, Medeiros 2015). The only restriction, which seems to have a universal character, refers to the fact that complement clauses with true imperatives can only be embedded under the directive matrix predicates such as *say*, *command*, *advise*, *ask* etc.

In Croatian dialectological literature, it has long been noted that in (some) Kajkavian dialects of Croatian imperatives can also occur in embedded clauses (cf. Zima 1887: 275, Brozović and Ivić 1988: 97, Lončarić 1996: 124). But so far, the analysis of this phenomenon has not gone beyond its mere recording. This paper will precisely focus on the syntactic peculiarities of the constructions with embedded (true and surrogate) imperatives in Kajkavian dialects in which they are confirmed. The exact spread of the phenomenon that we are dealing with in the Kajkavian dialect group is yet to be determined by conducting more extensive field research. This research covers only a small portion of the Kajkavian

area. The material was mostly collected from the *bednjansko-zagorski* dialect – according to Lončarić's (1996) classification of the Kajkavian dialect group – precisely from the local dialects of Pleš, Šaša, Rinkovec (in the Municipality of Bednja), Punikve (belonging to the City of Ivanec), Bela (belonging to the City of Novi Marof), Gornja Konjščina (the Municipality of Konjščina), as well as from the local dialect of Banfi (the Municipality of Štrigova), which, according to the aforementioned classification, belongs to the *međimurski* dialect. The research material was collected mainly by direct examination of native speakers. Along with the material collected during the field research, we have also taken into account the examples confirmed in the texts outlining Kajkavian dialects.

In the second chapter imperative forms in Kajkavian dialects are described. The third chapter presents the collected material and shows that in the researched Kajkavian dialects the embedding of imperatives is relatively free, i.e. is subject to few morphosyntactic constraints. In the fourth chapter, the material is analyzed within Medeiros' (2015) minimalist approach to embedded imperatives. In the last, fifth chapter, the final notes are given.

2. Imperative forms in Kajkavian dialects

In the analyses of the unique features of imperative clauses, it is common to distinguish between true and surrogate imperatives (cf. Rivero 1994). True imperatives are forms which specialize in expressing imperativeness and formally differ from the forms of the corresponding person in non-imperative paradigms. The characteristic of surrogate imperatives, however, is that they are morphologically identical with the forms of the corresponding person in some other verbal paradigms.

Most commonly, Kajkavian dialects possess true imperative forms for the second person singular and plural, as well as for the first person plural. The forms of the first person plural are rarely used (cf. Lončarić 1996: 111) and are often replaced with the collocation of the verb *ići* 'go' and the supine or the future forms of the corresponding person and number. In some verbs, the plural imperative forms in the segmental structure are identical to the corresponding present forms, but they usually differ from them prosodically (e.g. *pi:l'itę* 'saw', PRES. ~ *pĩ:litę*, IMP.;

cf. Lončarić 1996: 111), so it is not questionable that they should be considered as true and not surrogate imperatives. In periphrastic negated imperatives, specialized negated imperative forms *naj/najte* are most commonly followed by an infinitive (*naj kričati* ‘don’t scream’). Surrogate imperatives are used in the third person of both numbers, and they are formed by the particles *něj/něk* and the present form of the corresponding number (*něj spi* ‘let her sleep’).¹

3. Kajkavian embedded imperatives

In the researched Kajkavian dialects both true and surrogate imperatives may be embedded and they both occur only in complement clauses. As in Slovenian (cf. Rus 2005), complement clauses containing imperatives may be embedded under both declarative (2) and interrogative clauses (3).

(2) a. Ráklo sum ti ljepe do si zèmi pti. (Pleš)

said AUX you.CL.DAT. nicely that REFL.CL.DAT. take.IMP.2SG. drink

‘I told you nicely that you must have a drink.’

b. Rëkla sem jim ka nēj pòbèrjò gròzdjè. (Banfi)

said AUX them that PRT pick grapes

‘I told them that they must pick grapes.’

(3) Kòj sam ti nīj rëkla da nējdi pëšicë.

(Gornja Konjščina)

what AUX you.CL.DAT NEG said that NEG-go.IMP.2SG. on foot

‘Didn’t I tell you you mustn’t go on foot?’

(Gudek 2013: 137)

In Slovenian, imperatives have also been confirmed in relative clauses (4) (cf. Milojević Sheppard and Golden 2002: 251). Informants from the researched Kaj-

¹ It is known that Slavic languages had true imperative forms, formally identical to the forms of the second person, also in the third person. In Kajkavian they have almost entirely disappeared and can today be heard only in some fossilized expressions (cf. Lončarić 1996: 111).

kavian dialects did not confirm similar examples. The lack of their verification, however, is not related to the existence of any syntactic restriction, which in these contexts would impose the use of non-imperative forms. Above all, it concerns the general reluctance of the speakers to use the relative structures of type (4), which can be explained by the fact that the spoken language aims at more straightforward expression and shorter structures (cf. Kordić 1995: 177). Such expression does not favour the use of relative clauses, which, as one of the characteristics of a more elaborate discourse, are typical in the first place of the written language (cf. Kordić 1995: 177^F). That such an interpretation of the lack of verification of imperatives in relative clauses in the researched Kajkavian dialects is valid is indicated by the fact that in (older) Kajkavian texts true (5a) and surrogate imperatives (5b) are confirmed in relative clauses (cf. Zima 1887: 276–277).

(4) To je film, ki si ga oglej čimprej. (Slovenian)

this is film which REFL.CL.DAT. it.CL.ACC. see.IMP.2SG. as soon

‘This is a film which you must see as soon as you can.’

(Milojević Sheppard and Golden 2002: 251)

(5) a. Notre počiva majka Marija, ka nam prekriži našu dečicu.

inside rest mother Marija who we.CL.DAT. bless.IMP.2SG. our little ones

‘Inside rests mother Marija, who must bless our little ones.’

(Zima 1887: 276)

b. Da mu jednu kupicu, s kojum naj grabi.

gave he.CL.DAT. a cup with which PRT scoop.PRES.3.SG.

‘He gave him a cup, with which he must scoop.’

(Zima 1887: 277)

As in other languages which allow their embedding, imperatives in the researched Kajkavian dialects may not be embedded under any matrix predicate. Embedding is limited to a very small number of directive/reporting verbs (cf. Rus 2005, Isac 2015). It is most common under the matrix predicate *reći* ‘say’ (2-3) but the informants confirm that imperatives can also be embedded under the matrix predicates *prositi* ‘ask’ (6a) and *govoriti* ‘speak’ (6b).

(6) a. Guvōrila sam ti liēpe da naprāvi sē koj
trēba
(Gornja Konjščina)

told AUX ti.CL.DAT. nicely that do. IMP.2.SG. all what
necessary

‘I told you nicely to do all that was necessary.’

b. Prēsīm te da mi dunēsi knīgu. (Gornja Konjščina)
ask ti.CL.ACC. that I.CL.DAT bring.IMP.2.SG. book

‘I am asking you to bring me the book.’

As can be seen from the examples above, the subject of the embedded sentences with true imperatives is usually not overt. This, however, is not a consequence of any syntactic restriction (of the type mentioned earlier in the Korean language). The subject may be overt, but, as in Slovenian (cf. Rus 2005), its expression generally refers to a contrastive interpretation (7).

(7) a. Rāklo sum da tēi pečīsti hižu (a nīē ɛn). (Šaša)
said AUX that you clean.IMP.2SG. house and NEG he

‘I told you to clean the house (and not him).’

b. Tātək, vī ōtē vē pu vōdu, a māma nāj pē pōklē.
(Gornja Konjščina)

dad you go.IMP.2PL. now to water and mum PRT go.PRES.3SG. later

‘Dad, you go now to fetch water, and let mum go later.’

(Gudek 2013: 141)

In contrast to the situation in many other languages that allow the embedding of imperatives, the subject of an embedded clause in the researched Kajkavian dialects, as well as in Slovenian (cf. Rus 2005), does not necessarily have to co-refer with the internal argument of the matrix predicate (8).

(8) a. Rēkla sam im da (vī) počīstētē sōbu.
(Gornja Konjščina)

said AUX they.CL.DAT that (you) clean.IMP.2PL. room

‘I told them to clean the room.’

- b. Ráklo sum ĩveku do nōj Jōžek diēlo. (Šaša)
 said AUX Ivek that PRT Jožek work.PRES.3SG.
 ‘I told Ivek that Jožek must work.’

5. Analysis

One of the many controversial points in generative approaches to imperative clauses refers to the way in which the sentential force is encoded. It could most commonly be said that two types of approaches have been defined in this respect in the literature. Most researchers believe that the directive sentential force is encoded in syntax, i.e. that in the clausal structure there is a specialized element whose activation gives the sentence a directive interpretation (cf. Han 1998, Cormany 2013, Medeiros 2015). A smaller number of researchers reject such an argument and consider that the directive force derives from a combination of several (semantic) components – such as [modality], [speaker], [addressee] etc. – which (mostly) have their morphosyntactic correlates (Isac 2015). In this paper, we follow the first approach, and we consider that sentential force is encoded in the syntax. Like other researchers who proceed from this claim, we assume that the directive feature which encodes the sentential force in imperative clauses is found in the CP domain, specifically in the head of Force⁰, considering that we accept the assumption of a split CP (cf. Rizzi 1997; for imperative clauses cf. Cormany 2013). There are different opinions about the way of how to activate the directive feature in Force⁰ (or C⁰) and what kind of effects that activation has after all. It has long been considered that the activation of the directive feature implies that the verb in syntax moves into the head in which the directive feature is found (cf. Han 1998) and that by that movement it acquires imperative morphology and obtains a directive interpretation (cf. Rivero 1994). Given the fact that movement of the verb so high in the structure leaves “little room for complex interactions in the clausal periphery” (Cormany 2013: 88), more recently, it has been increasingly emphasized that the verb in syntax remains in a lower position and that by establishing the agreement relationship between the verb and the directive operator in Force⁰, the clause is typed as imperative, and the verb itself acquires imperative morphology (cf. Cormany 2013). In all these accounts,

imperative morphology is identified with the directive force, i.e. it is implied that imperative verbs can exclusively be interpreted directive. That such an assumption is not sustainable, has already been shown by the examples from Kajkavian dialects. The commonplace in the literature on Kajkavian imperatives is the claim that they, apart from expressing commands (and other directive speech acts), may also be used in narrating past events (9) (see Lončarić 1996: 125).

- (9) Ůna je bĭla mǎlo pri vĭnu pa vŭdri jofkǎti.
 she AUX little to wine and begin.IMP.2SG. cry

‘She was a bit tipsy so she began to cry.’

(Lončarić 1996: 125)

Following Medeiros (2015), we find that imperative morphology is not inseparable from directive force, i.e. that satisfying the (abstract) features of imperative verbs is not inherently associated to the syntactic position where the directive force of the sentence is encoded (Force⁰). Drawing upon Isac (2015) and the semantic analysis of imperatives of Kaufmann (2012), we believe that at the top of the inflectional domain of imperative clauses (above TP), there is a modal projection by whose head the inflected imperative verb checks the uninterpretable Mod feature [*uMod*]) with which it enters the derivation.² Since only the modal meaning component is encoded in Mod⁰, by checking [*uMod*], imperative verbs do not become directive but merely validate modal semantics, which, in our opinion, is a *conditio sine qua non* for their occurring in a sentence. Given that directivity and modal semantics are encoded in different positions, there is a (principled) possibility that the sentence with an imperative verb is not directive interpreted. In many languages, this seems impossible (cf. Medeiros 2015). Medeiros explains this fact by assuming that in such languages imperative morphology, although encoded in a separate position in the clause structure, is dependent on the directive operator in C⁰. An open issue is how one can explain the dependence of imperative morphology on the directive operator in some languages and the absence of it in others. Below, we will see how Medeiros (2015) approaches this problem.

² On the modal approach to imperatives, besides Kaufmann (2012), see also Medeiros (2013), Isac (2015).

Checking the [*uMod*] does not necessarily mean that an imperative verb in syntax moves to *Mod*⁰. The verb can remain in the position in which it is merged and check [*uMod*] by (Long Distance) Agree with *Mod*⁰. Within the framework of Slavic languages, the most reliable test for determining the position in which a verb is found in the sentence structure is considering its position in relation to the VP-adverbs. It is a standard assumption that these adverbs “adjoin to the highest projection of the VP domain” (Sturgeon 2008: 11). It follows, therefore, that verbs in syntax are in *v*⁰ if they occur after VP-adverbs, or in the head of some projections in the inflectional domain (*T*⁰ or some other) if they precede VP-adverbs. In Kajkavian dialects, in principle, both versions are possible, i.e. a verb can be found on either side of the VP-adverbs (10). Most informants, however, consider that the order ‘imperative verb + VP-adverbs’ is more neutral, and point out that in an alternative case, the adverb has a focused interpretation. We will, therefore, assume that imperatives in Kajkavian move overtly to *Mod*⁰.

- (10) a. (Ti)he Gevèri (ti)he. (Šaša)
 quietly speak.IMP.2SG quietly
 ‘Speak quietly’
- b. (Brž)è Lžeti (brž)è. (Gornja Konjščina)
 quickly run.IMP.2SG quickly
 ‘Run quickly.’

Given the fact that the movement to *Mod*⁰ is not a consequence of the checking of [*uMod*], we assume, following (Isac 2015: 116), that *Mod*⁰ – with an interpretable *Mod* feature ([i*Mod*]) – possesses the EPP-feature, which requires an overt movement of the element with [*Mod*] to *Mod*⁰. The EPP-feature of *Mod*⁰, apart from imperative verbs, can also be satisfied by other elements which possess [*Mod*] (cf. Isac 2015). In sentences with surrogate imperatives, such an element is a particle *nej/nèk*, which is an integral part of the surrogate imperative forms for the third person. That this particle in syntax is indeed found in *Mod*⁰ is confirmed by the fact that in neutral contexts it always precedes the subject (located probably in the SpecTP) (11) and VP-adverbs (12), and it can be preceded by contrastive topics (7b).

- (11) Nôj ěn zěma kńĭgu. (Rinkovec)
 PRT he take.PRES.3SG. book
 ‘Let him take the book.’
- (12) Nôj (bĕĭa) pĕkôuĉi (bĕĭa). (Rinkovec)
 PRT better knock.PRES.3SG. better
 ‘Let him knock at the door more loudly.’

Mod⁰ in Kajkavian also hosts negated imperative verbs *naj* and *najte*. This is pointed out by the fact that in neutral contexts VP-adverbs always come after *naj/najte* (13), as well as the fact that topicalized constituents can also occur in front of them (14).

- (13) Năj (tihe) geveriti (tihe). (Šaša)
 don’t quietly speak quietly
 ‘Don’t speak quietly.’
- (14) Vĕinĕ năj piti. (Šaša)
 wine don’t drink
 ‘Don’t drink wine.’

In addition to contrastive topics and focused adverbs, in front of true imperatives, the imperative particles *daj* and *dajte* (originally imperative forms of the verb *dati* ‘give’) (15) and the particles *oj* and *ojte* (originally imperative forms of the verb *hoditi* ‘go’) (16) can occur in Kajkavian dialects. Informants regularly point out that *daj* and *dajte* are used in stronger and *oj* and *ojte* in weaker commands (see also Lončarić 1996: 124). It could, therefore, be said that *daj* and *dajte* function as intensifiers and *oj* and *ojte* as downtoners.

- (15) Dĕjtĕ ne krĭĉĕtĕ. (Gornja Konjščina)
 PRT NEG scream.IMP.2PL.
 ‘Don’t scream.’
- (16) Ėjdi zĕmi lepôtu. (Šaša)
 PRT take.IMP.2SG. shovel
 ‘Take a shovel.’

Imperative verbs cannot occur in front of imperative particles (17). Informants, however, usually accept contrastive topics in that position (some, admittedly, with reserve) (18).

- (17) a. *Dõņesi d'āj knígo. (Banfi)

bring.IMP.2SG. PRT book

'Bring the book.'

- b. *Zěmi si òdi kulāča. (Gornja Konjščina)

take.IMP.2SG. REFL.CL.DAT. PRT cake

'Take some cake.'

- (18) a. Lepòtu ẹ̣jdi zěmi (nĩ po pẹ̣ik). (Šaša)

shovel PRT take.IMP.2JD. NEG pick-axe

'Take a shovel (and not a pick-axe).'

- b. Tẹ̣i dõj denási lepòtu (nĩ ẹ̣n). (Šaša)

you PRT bring.IMP.2SG. shovel NEG he

'You bring the shovel (and not him).'

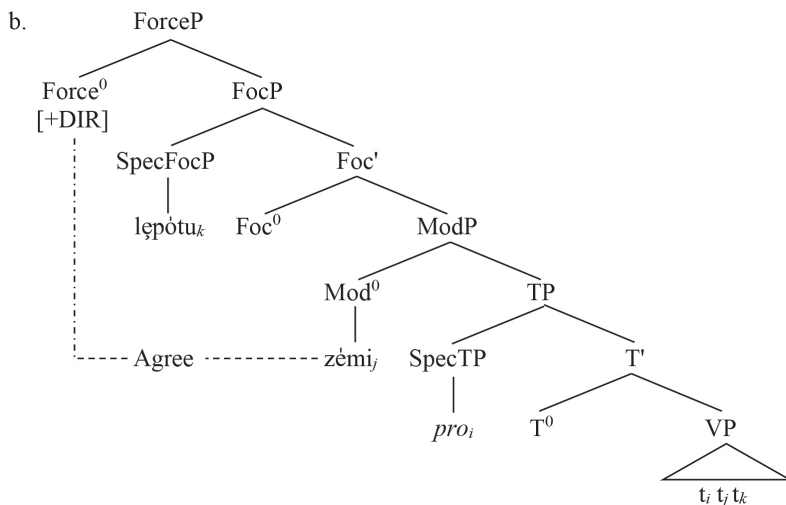
Given that imperative verbs are at the top of the inflectional domain, i.e. in Mod⁰, it is logical to assume that imperative particles are merged in the head of some of the projections in the CP domain. As most informants accept contrastive topics in front of the particles, it is highly unlikely that this head is Force⁰ (otherwise it could not be expected for other constituents to occur in front of the particles).³ We will leave the question about the position in which the imperative particles are merged in the structure open, with the note that this problem deserves a particular study, which, apart from the syntactic, should also precisely define the semantic features of the Kajkavian imperative particles.⁴

In view of what has been said so far, the structure of example (19a) might be shown as in (19b).

³ It would neither be expected for informants to confirm the particles in embedded clauses (see about this below).

⁴ Particles *na* and *nate* can also be realized as command intensifiers in Kajkavian (cf. Lončarić 1996: 124).

- (19) a. Lepótu zèmi. (Šaša)
 shovel take.IMP.2SG.
 ‘Take a shovel!’



In Medeiros’ (2015: 127) analysis of embedded imperatives, one of the key points is the claim that “sentential force is a property of (only) matrix clauses” (cf. also Han 1998: 40). Proofs of such a claim could apparently be found in constructions with embedded imperatives in Kajkavian dialects. Namely, the denial of a command expressed by the (matrix) imperative clause immediately after its utterance regularly results in the unfelicity of the statement (20) (cf. also Medeiros 2013: 72), which is not the case with the constructions in which the imperative verb is found in an embedded clause. The retracting of the content of the whole sentence, in that case, is not considered unacceptable by speakers (21).⁵ Something like this might be in support of Medeiros’ (2015: 127) claims that constructions with embedded imperatives do not have a directive force, that is, that the embedded imperative verbs are really “unable to influence the sentential force of the matrix clause”.

⁵ Compare an analogous example from High German in Kaufmann (2012: 209).

- (20) Věrni mi knígu (*aļi ju męraš ize zederžóti pri sebe).
(Šaša)

give back I.CL.DAT. book but she.CL.ACC can still keep with REFL.DAT
'Give me back the book (*but you can still keep it with you).'

- (21) Fčäre sum ti rákel do mi vęrni knígu,
yesterday AUX you.CL.DAT. said that I.CL.DAT. give back book
aļi ju sajáne męraš ize zederžóti pri sebe. (Šaša)
but she.CL.ACC anyway can still keep with REFL.DAT
'Yesterday, I told you to give me back the book, but you can still keep it with you.'

However, the fact that speakers accept the intensifiers *daj* and *dajte* (22a) as well as downtoners *oj* and *ojte* (22b) with embedded imperatives might turn out to be problematic for the claim of the absence of sentential force in embedded clauses.

- (22) a. Rėkla sam ti da mi děj duněsi knígu.
(Gornja Konjščina)

tell AUX you.CL.DAT that I.CL.DAT. PRT bring.IMP.2SG. book
'I told you that you must bring me the book.'

- b. Rákel sum ti do ějdi zěmi lepótu. (Šaša)

said AUX you.CL.DAT. that PRT take.IMP.2SG. shovel

'I told you that you must take a shovel.'

Given that imperative modal semantics cannot be intensified or weakened, but only the directive force can, the possibility of occurring of imperative particles in embedded clauses could be an unsolvable obstacle to the claim that sentential force is limited to matrix clauses. In this respect, however, it is significant to point out that some informants evaluate examples with imperative particles (or at least those with intensifiers) as very rare or even marginally acceptable (23).

- (23) a. Ráklo sum ti do (řdøj) zěmi lepótu. (Šaša)

said AUX you.CL.DAT. that PRT take.IMP.2SG. shovel

'I told you that you had to take a shovel.'

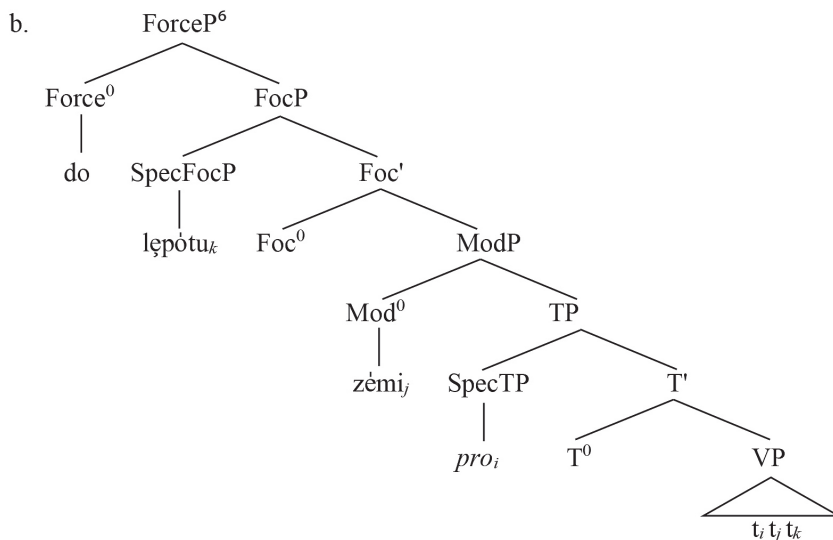
- b. Rákel sum ti do (řdøj) kŭpi krŭh. (Rinkovec)

said AUX you.CL.DAT. that PRT buy.IMP.2SG. bread

'I told you that you must buy bread.'

The structure of embedded clause with an imperative form (24a) may be shown as in (24b).

(24) a. Ráklo sum ti do lepótu zèmi. (Šaša)



It is still an open issue why the embedding of imperatives in some languages is allowed, while in others (i.e. in most of them) this is not the case. In Medeiros' (2015) model, this fact is explained by the assumption that in languages which do not allow the embedding, imperative morphology is dependent on the directive operator. Since directive force is not a property of embedded clauses, true imperatives in such languages cannot be embedded. Given the assumption of the separateness of directive feature and imperative modal semantics, it would be expected that in languages which allow the embedding of imperatives imperative forms could occur in matrix clauses that have no directive force. The example mentioned in (9) has shown that in the researched Kajkavian dialects this indeed is the case, and Milojević Sheppard and Golden (2002: 17) confirm the same for the Slovenian. It is interesting to see how Medeiros perceives non-directively used imperatives. He considers that the non-directivity of imperative

⁶ If we assume that embedded clauses do not have sentential force, the existence of the projection of ForceP in their structure might seem redundant. The question is, however, where, in case of the absence of ForceP, the complementiser would be. A possible answer is given by Cormany's model of the left periphery (2013). He believes that Rizzi's (1997) left periphery may be complemented by SubP (= Subordinate Phrase) above ForceP, which encodes only "whether the clause is a matrix or subordinate clause" (Cormany 2013: 91).

verbs is related to their lack of being addressee-oriented.⁷ As sentences with second person imperative verbs are addressee-oriented, the prototypical examples of non-directive matrix clauses would be those in which the imperative verb is in the third person, and its external argument denotes inanimate referent (so that it cannot be under the control of the addressee) (cf. Medeiros 2015: 147–148). Of all this, Medeiros (2015: 143) argues that the embedding of imperatives is allowed only in those languages that have rich imperative morphology, where the *rich imperative morphology* “is defined as having overt and distinct bona fide morphological imperative verb forms beyond the second person”. Accordingly, Medeiros assumes that in languages in which imperatives can only be directive, the special imperative T^0 (which contains imperative morphology and modal semantics) can only be selected by the directive C^0 ($C_{[dir]}$), which, along with the directive operator, also contains the second person feature. However, in languages with rich imperative morphology, the imperative T^0 is selected by C^0 which contains uninterpretable ϕ -features ($C_{[+\phi]}$) and which may optionally contain a directive operator. In this way the imperative T^0 , according to Chomsky’s (2008) Feature Transfer Analysis, inherits the uninterpretable ϕ -features of $C_{[+\phi]}$, which means that the subject of a sentence can check its own ϕ -features with T^0 and thus avoid an addressee interpretation.

The presented model is very attractive, but it seems that it still cannot explain the impossibility of effectuating embedded imperatives in all languages, nor even predict their occurring in all the languages in which they exist. If we remain only within the framework of Croatian local dialects, the problem, on the one hand, is the fact that embedded imperatives have been confirmed in some Kajkavian dialects, although they have relatively poor imperative morphology. The true imperatives in Kajkavian are used practically only in the second person. Forms of the third person are preserved just in fossilized expressions, while the forms of the first person (plural), though existing in theory, are used extremely rarely. The Croatian standard language in this regard has richer imperative morphology than Kajkavian dialects, yet it does not allow the embedding of imperatives. On the other hand, the problem of Medeiros’ model could be represented by the fact that there are idioms in which imperatives can be used non-directively, but still cannot occur in embedded clauses. This is the case with many Štokavian dia-

⁷ Cf. Medeiros 2015: 147: “Addressee orientation may be used as a diagnostic of directive force; if the subject of an imperative is not addressee-oriented, it is reasonable to suspect that the imperative is not directive”.

lects, in which the use of narrative (i.e. non-directive) imperatives is even more frequent than in Kajkavian (cf. Lisac 2003: 58) – and, in addition, Štokavian has an equally rich if not richer imperative morphology than Kajkavian – however, despite this, the embedding of imperatives in them is not possible.

6. Closing remarks

The analysis has shown that in Kajkavian dialects of Croatian which allow embedded imperatives the embedding is relatively free. Both true and surrogate imperatives may be embedded, the subject of embedded clauses does not pose any syntactic constraints which would involve its being overt (although generally null subjects are more frequent than overt ones) and does not necessarily have to co-refer with the internal argument of the matrix predicate. Embedded imperatives, admittedly, have not been verified in relative (as, for example, in Slovenian), but only in complement clauses; this, however, can be generally attributed to the reluctance of the spoken language to use complex constructions. That this assumption may be correct, i.e. that the researched Kajkavian systems generally do not prohibit embedded imperatives in relative clauses, is shown by the fact that in (older) written Kajkavian texts they are confirmed in such contexts.

The material has been analyzed in light of Medeiros' hypotheses that (i) directive sentential force and imperative morphology (and modal semantics) are not encoded in the same position in the sentence structure, (ii) that embedded clauses do not have a sentential force and (iii) that the independence of imperatives on directive operator is a consequence of rich imperative morphology. The fact that in the researched Kajkavian dialects imperatives can be realized in sentences which are not directive indicates that the separate encoding of directive force and imperative morphology and modal semantics is justified. The other two suppositions face the challenges that need yet to be determined if they can be explained within the framework of the presented model. The fact that (some) informants accept, in embedded clauses, intensifiers *daj* and *dajte* and downtoners *oj* and *ojte* might represent a severe counter-argument to the claim that the sentential force is a property of matrix clauses, given that these elements can strengthen or weaken only the sentential force. The assumption that the independence of the imperative on directive operator (and the consequential possibility of its embedding)

is associated with the richness of imperative morphology also turns out to be problematic. Kajkavian dialects have relatively poor imperative morphology, yet some of them allow the embedding of imperatives. On the other hand, Štokavian dialects have at least equally rich imperative morphology – and besides, in these dialects, imperatives more frequently occur in clauses which are not directive than in Kajkavian dialects – but still imperative cannot be embedded in them.

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Umetnuti imperativi u kajkavskim govorima hrvatskoga jezika

Sažetak

Jezici koji dopuštaju umetanje imperativa vrlo su rijetki. Ta je pojava potvrđena, primjerice, u suvremenim jezicima poput slovenskoga i visokonjemačkoga te povijesnim jezicima poput starogrčkoga i staroskandinavskih. U literaturi je davno utvrđeno da imperativi mogu biti umetnuti i u nekim govorima kajkavskoga narječja hrvatskoga jezika, ali do danas ta pojava nije podrobnije analizirana. U radu se donosi građa prikupljena terenskim istraživanjem te se analizira u okvirima Medeirosova (2015) minimalističkoga pristupa umetnutim imperativima, prema kojem je umetanje imperativa moguće samo u onim jezicima u kojima imperativna morfologija nije ovisna o direktivnome operatoru. U istraženim se kajkavskim govorima umetnuti imperativi ostvaruju samo u dopunbenim rečenicama, no stariji tekstovi pokazuju da je u pisanome jeziku umetanje moguće i u restriktivnim relativnim rečenicama. Za razliku od mnogih drugih jezika u kojima se imperativi mogu umetati, u istraženim je kajkavskim govorima umetanje relativno slobodno. Umetnuti mogu biti i pravi i zamjenski imperativi, subjekt umetnutih rečenica može biti prazan i leksički izražen te ne mora nužno biti koreferentan s unutarnjim argumentom korijenskoga predikata.

Ključne riječi: sintaksa, umetnuti imperativi, rečenična snaga, modalnost, kajkavsko narječje hrvatskoga jezika

Keywords: syntax, embedded imperatives, sentential force, modality, Kajkavian dialects of Croatian